Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8903

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJ: CSCE: ITALIAN AND ROMANIAN ENEMY STATE AND FOUR POWER RIGHTS CONCERNS

REF: A) STATE 232680; B) ROME 14775; C) GENEVA 6539; D) STATE 225758; E) GENEVA 6299 (ALL NOTAL)

1. ITALIAN DELEGATION HAS NOT YET RAISED WITH US THEIR SENSITIVITIES OVER ENEMY STATES ARTICLES ON UNCHARTER. THEY HAVE, HOWEVER, BROUGHT UP MATTER INDIRECTLY BY INDICATING DIFFICULTIES WITH CURRENT BONN GROUP LANGUAGE INTENDED TO RESERVE QUADRIPARTIE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. WHILE ITALIAN ARGUMENT HAS FOCUSED ON BREZHNEV DOCTRINE ASPECTS OF BONN GROUP LANGUAGE, THEIR PROPOSED AMENDATIONS OF THAT LANGUAGE SUGGEST DESIRE TO CHIP AWAY AT ENEMY STATES ARTICLES AS WELL. CONFIDENTIAL

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- 2. ITALIANS SUGGESTED TO EC-NINE CAUCUS FOUR VARIATIONS OF CLAUSE THAT MIGHT BE ADDED TO BONN GROUP LANGUAGE. BASIC VARIANT WOULD QUALIFY PRESERVATION OF RIGHTS HELD BY PARTIPATING STATES "IN SO FAR AS SUCH RIGHTS ARE COMPATIBLE WITH THE (INTERNATIONAL) OBLIGATIONS INCUM-BENT UPON THEM ALL WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE (COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM OF THE UNITED NATIONS (UNITED NATIONS SECURITY SYSTEM)." WE AND SOME EC-NINE DELS HAVE TOLD ITALIAN DEL THAT SUCH LANGUAGE WOULD DANGEROUSLY WEAKEN BONN GROUP RORMULA, AND ITALIANS HAVE HINTED THAT, LIKE DUTCH (REF C). SOME AT LEAST OF THEIR CON-CERNS MIGHT BE DEALT WITH IF QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS PROVISION IS EVENTUALLY PLACED IN FINAL CLAUSES RATHER THAN IN TENTH PRINCIPLE. IN VIEW OF DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS (REF D) AND INDICATIONS FREHCN AND SOVIETS ALSO MAY FAVOR SUVH PLACEMENT (REF C) WE ARE ENCOURAGING ITALIANS IN THIS LINE OF THINKING.
- 3. FROM INDICATIONS REFS A AND B, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT ITALIAN CONCERN ON ENEMY STATES ARTICLES ALSO CENTERED ON LANGUAGE PRESENTLY IN FRENCH FORMULATION FOR TENTH PRINCIPLE TO EFFECT THAT PARTICIPATING STATES "ALSO NOTE THAT NOTHING IN THIS DECLARATION CAN BE INTERPRETED IN A MANNER CONFLICTING WITH A PROVISION OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS." IT OCCURS TO US THAT IF WE OBTAIN SATISFACTORY QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS LANGUAGE ALONG LINES OF THAT DEVELOPED IN BONN GROUP WHICH IS PLACED IN FINAL CLAUSES, AND NON-USE OF FORCE LANGUAGE IS SATISFACTORILY CAVEATED TO PROTECT RIGHT TO USE FORCE LEGALLY IN SECOND PRINCIPLE AS WELL AS IN GENERAL DISCLAIMER IN FINAL CLAUSES, IT MIGHT BECOME POSSIBLE TO REPLACE " PROVISION OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS" WITH "THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS," IN TENTH PRINCIPLE SINCE SUCH LANGUAGE IN ITSELF COULD NOT BE CONSTRUED AS INVALIDATING ANY ARTICLES OF UN CHARTER.
- 4. WE WILL SEEK OPPORTUNITY WEEK OF OCTOBER 28 TO DISCUSS ENEMY STATES CONCERNS WITH MEMBER OF ITALIAN DELEGATION MOST FAMILIAR WITH PRINCIPLES DECLARATION (HE HAS BEEN ILL PAST CONFIDENTIAL

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FEW DAYS), AND, IF DEPARTMENT CONCURS, WILL SUGGEST WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER PLACEMENT OF BONN GROUP LANGUAGE IN FINAL CLAUSES AND MODIFICATION OF REFERENCE TO UN CHARTER, PROVIDED ADEQUATE

QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND LEGAL USE OF FORCE LANGUAGE IS OBTAINED, IN ORDER TO LEAVE STATUS OF ARTICLES 53 AND 107 OF CHARTER UNIMPAIRED BUT UNHIGHLIGHTED.

5. ROMANIAN PROBLEM REMAINS WHERE IT WAS SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. ROMANIANS HAVE TOLD US THEY ARE INTERESTED IN RECEIVING DEPARTMENT'S REACTION TO LANGUAGE THEY HAVE SUGGESTED MIGHT BE INSERTED IN PREAMBLE OF THEIR NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL (REF E). WE HAVE HELD OUT NO REPEAT NO HOPE THAT WE COULD ACCEPT LESS THAN SATISFACTORY REFERENCE TO USES OF FORCE SANCTIONED BY CHARTER EITHER IN PARAGRAPH THREE OF THEIR PROPOSAL OR IN SOME OTHER PART OF THEIR PROPOSAL THAT WOULD CLEARLY RELATE TO PARAGRAPH THREE. SPECIAL WORKING BODY RETURNED TO ROMANIAN PROPOSAL OCTOBER 24, BUT IT IS UNLIKELY TO REACH PARAGRAPH THREE BEFORE WEEK OF NOVEMBER 5 AT EARLIEST. FRG, WHILE INDICATING IT AGAIN PREPARED TO DISCUSS ROMANIAN PROPOSALS, HAS BEGUN FLOATING IDEA THAT ROMANIAN TEXTS SHOULD BE SCATTERED ABOUT IN RELEVANT PARTS OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION RATHER THAN PRESERVED IN SEPARATE DOCUMENT. IF IDEA GAINS MOMENTUM, IT MAY MAKE IT SOMEWHAT EASIER FOR US TO PROTECT OUR QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS POSITION, AS WELL AS RIGHT TO USE FORCE LEGALLY AS SANCTIONED BY CHARTER, WITH AID OF SECOND PRINCIPLE LANGUAGE AND GENERAL RESERVATION IN FINAL CLAUSES. ABRAMS

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